2: Hudson
61, 178

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalisation which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qьstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qьstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qьstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qьstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qьstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[55]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[55a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (enci) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[56] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[57] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[58] although according to my information it was customary

[55] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[55a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[56] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 43.

[57] *Idem*, 34.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds.

[38] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riazanovskii, op. cit., 57), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riazanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Quran*, 4.13.93.

Turgaiskoi, Akomolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi" /Provisional Code for the administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions/. The writer also includes the customs of the Kazakhs of the Turkestan region parallel to the customs of the Siberian Kazakhs.

The latest work on Kazakh customary law is the publication in 1886 in Omsk by the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridcheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov/ Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/ (Pt. 1, Material'noe Pravo /Law of Things/). Data collected by the chiefs of the uyezds of the Semipalatinsk region served as the basic materials for this book. These were collected according to a program provided in 1882 by the Governor General of Western Siberia, and this was studied and supplemented by the compiler of the book, P. E. Makovetskii, a member of the statistical committee, by means of oral inquiries in the steppe, and study of the actual decisions of the biis.

The work of Malovetskii is a valuable contribution to the literature on the customary law of the Kazakhs, containing an indication of the historic origin of certain customs, and of the influence of the Shariat and Russian laws. In addition the book contains a collection of variants of customs according to localities and the circumstances of the case, and also a critical analysis, explanations, etc.

From the first days of my entrance into the administration of the Syr-Darya region, I noted the great gap in evidence on the customary law of the Kazakhs. The material published in this field in Russia has not been very satisfactory for the local present day demands because of the extreme limitations of the materials gathered, and its completely inadequate study. In addition to this, /v/ a considerable change in the customary law has been taking place under the influence of various powerful factors. One has been the influence of Islam, whose propagation among the nomads by ishans from Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent has grown more intensive since our pacification of Central Asia. There has also been the influence of the Russian dominion with new orders and civilization, the transition of the nomads to agriculture, the appearance of new types of industry, etc. The life of the Kazakh hordes and groups of tribes under the rule of the Khans and Sultans and under the strong independent kinsmen under the Kokand begs and hakims etc., is in part changed, and in part long forgotten. A broad wave of new attitudes and concepts has influenced the life of the people. Life has begun to produce new

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[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas
128 to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following: 1) E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships. 618

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle. 631 618

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, from whom the following answers have been received. 631 618 178

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the [695]

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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[672]

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
579 livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[694] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

the possibility of making use of the conveniences put at his disposal by the /22/ existing order, in the sense of freedom of action, protection by law from persecution, the appeal of decisions, etc. The closer to the town, the more the rights of the individual are respected.

The main theses of the oral tradition of customary law are the same everywhere. The details vary according to time and place. There is already fear that the unity of the Kazakhs is disappearing (kazaktyng birligi kitedi), as a result of the decline of the clan principle and the community of property. The changed conditions of life have brought forth the rise, so to speak, of a new customary law. This has been influenced by the conversion to Islam of the Kazakhs, the proximity of the Kokandians in the fortresses, the transition of a part of the nomads to sedentary life, and the moral influence and decrees of the Russian administration. The main features of the new customary law are: the limitation of the clan bond and clan property to a narrower circle, which was also the aim of the law, according to which the Turkestan region was administered until 1887; (1) giving brides and

1. The Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya regions, 1867.

widows the freedom to choose a husband; the introduction of the use of written acts; the exchange of reckoning by livestock to reckoning by money, etc.

Now the old customary law has lost its force (adattyng kushi ketti), and a new customary law is rising. Formulas like these have begun to be used: in accordance with the customary law of the extraordinary session between these and these uyezds. A considerable part of the business of the present sessions of the biis consists of the adjudication of money for bills of exchange and receipts. Quite often such documents are examined as the certificates of Russian doctors, decisions concerning the capture of thieves corpus delicti, fraudulent records and receipts, reports with the special opinion of the minority, and information from the transport office. One finds complaints concerning the non-issuance of a copy with a decision, on the appropration of money which had been made over to be deposited in the uyezd pawn-broker's with the interest, on a silver watch which was lost at a prostitute's, etc. The session validates land and other decisions (osu ishni nygytamyz), collects the signatures of those who have been pacified, in /23/ anticipation of a renewed claim for the wergeld, and finally, it even ordains judgment by default, an innovation unheard of in the old customary law. Philo-

671/178 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an example we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim.... In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz) " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671/562 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
179 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situation (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year, and especially in the years of "dzhuta" (hunger).

[566]
[291]
[492]

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

592
[614] The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy" (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master,
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however,
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the
livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic
use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order,
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already
begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that
is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous,
and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

/219 cont./

585 [431] gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is kneeling. [178] The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particular racing. 585 177 Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for himself. 585 553 After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms 595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [221] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

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beginning of World War II; the number reportedly increased "by several times" by 1943. At the beginning of the war, the proportion of persons making kitchen gardens in Karaganda—4.7 per cent—was two and a half times higher than that for the USSR as a whole. But Karaganda's percentage was soon surpassed by that of the Soviet Union, which by 1944 had mounted to about 10 per cent, five and a half times the prewar rate.[1]

KN 248 249

The third category of agricultural products includes fiber crops (cotton and hemp), vegetable oil crops (sunflower and olive—dried sunflower seeds are a favored Russian and Asiatic snack), tea, tobacco, and sugar beets. These crops are collectively called "technical crops" in the Soviet Union, because they are processed by techniques other than milling for the production of flour. Together with rice they are grown mostly in southern and southeastern Kazakhstan, where the original Turkic population has an age-old agricultural tradition, especially in irrigated farming. In 1938 there were 110,200 hectares in cotton and 14,000 hectares in sugar beets.[2]

KN 241 K [178] K [221]

The final category, that of agriculture in conjunction with herding, has become the typical Kazakh rural occupation. The trend toward a mixed economy of herding and farming which began in the 19th century under the combined influences of land pressure and diffusion of agricultural techniques has culminated in the virtual elimination of pure nomadism among the Kazakhs.

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The principal unit of agriculture in Kazakhstan is the collective farm. The peak years in the period of forced and accelerated collectivization were 1930 and 1931; the number of collective farms rose in those years from 4,212 to 7,800.[3] By 1932, the resistance of the rural population began to make itself felt, and there was a falling off in the number of collectives, coupled with a consolidation of those already organized. But the number gradually mounted during the mid-thirties, again reaching a figure greater than 7,000.[4] Just before World War II, with more purges and a second drive toward consolidation, the number dropped. In 1952 approximately 3,200 were reported[5]; this figure is said to be less than half that of 1950, for which no numerical data are available. This was part of an over-all cut; in 1951, the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union was halved.

In recent years, collective farms in Kazakhstan have decreased in number and increased in size. The latest figure for the total number of such farms is 3,145. At the same time, the average number of cooperative farming units per farm increased from 91 to 186. The total number of these cooperative units decreased from 5,558 to 2,047 in Kazakhstan, while the average size of the collective farms increased.[6]

To complete the picture, there were roughly 200 state farms at the end of the thirties; 258 were reported in 1952.[7] Five Machine Tractor

[1] All data from Bavdin, 1946, p. 59.
[2] *Kazakhstan SSR*, pp. 62, 70.
[3] *Kazakhstan v Tolpakh* . . . . p. 66.
[4] *Kazakhstan SSR*, p. 18.
[5] *Planovoe Khozyaistvo*, 1952, No. 2, p. 50.
[6] *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 1952, No. 2, p. 111.
[7] *Kazakhstan SSR*, p. 56, and *Kazakhstan v pervyi god* . . . , p. 158.

385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.[58] The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.[59] Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.[60]

Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which lineage size and clan size tended to vary. Some twenty to thirty years later, after the conquest of the region by the Russians under General Kaufman, a marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group set in. Radlov records figures for the administrative units that now replaced the clans, which although corresponding roughly with them, are in some instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families; twelve comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5350 and 12,000 families (or tents) strong.[61] In the inter-

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[58] Ibid., 395.

[59] Ibid., 396.

[60] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

[61] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 238-240.

619 In the inter-
vening decades, [1] the Russians had set up a system of ad-
178 ministrative divisions which reorganized to some extent
241 the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this
time there was some increase in agriculture among them.
As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration
in the development of farming among them, and a tendency
to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European
619 Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Moun-
tains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake
Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan
as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 378. "Some of the Kirgiz
178 have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their win-
241 ter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This ten-
dency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater
development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs
into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoral-
ists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915,
and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the
Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had
transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-
agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agri-
culture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47.
The process of transformation as indicated by the above
sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries
had been making a transition from pastoralism to agri-
culture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They
joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as
the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to
farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed
through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by
the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as
such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien,
I, 222-230.

[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

•178 61 The evidence of Izrastsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izrastsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be encountered more rarely, for danger forced them to move as nomads with large auls. Now this reason for keeping together is considerably less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world without causing any particular worries to his relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers. It is self-evident that in most cases their devices are actually harmful. In fortunate cases they consist only of whisperings and grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases little peace is allowed the woman who has borne the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has /342/ only one right: to name her newborn child. She does this in a very original way, acting entirely upon inspiration, often naming the child after the first object she happens to look at after the birth. As a result names occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and in general is circumcision inaugurated by festivities, but does not occur until after the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially